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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 1223

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF
SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: RACIAL POLICIES IN THE SADF

1. SUMMARY: THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE (SADF) HAS ELIMINATED DISCRIMINATORY REGULATIONS BASED ON SEX AND RACE AS WELL AS MOST SEGREGATION PRACTICES IN MIXED UNITS. THIS ACTION, WHILE RECEIVING LITTLE PUBLICITY, IS REMARKABLE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT POLICY. THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS WILL BE LIMITED BY THE SMALL NUMBER OF BLACKS, INDIANS AND COLOREDS CURRENTLY IN THE SADF AND THE FACT THAT ONLY PART
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OF THESE ARE SERVING IN FULLY INTEGRATED UNITS. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE ONLY A FEW INTEGRATED UNITS IN THE SA ARMY, MOST OF THE 729 INDIANS AND COLORED IN THE NAVY AND ALL OF THE HANDFUL OF COLOREDS IN THE AIR FORCE SERVE IN SUCH UNITS. THE IMPACT OF SADF RACIAL POLICIES ON THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY WILL DEPEND ON THE SIZE OF FUTURE SERVICE INTAKES OF BLACKS, COLOREDS AND INDIANS AS WELL AS THE EXTENT OF UNIT INTEGRATION IN THE FUTURE.

ALTHOUGH THE RELATIVELY ENLIGHTENED RACIAL POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ARE PRIMARILY BASED ON A PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE SECURITY NEEDS, THE ATTITUDE OF THE MILITARY LEADERS REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE LONG TERM PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. IN A STUDY PREPARED BY THE SADF AND APPROVED BY GENERAL MALAN, CHIEF OF SADF, AND P.W. BOTHA, THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, DISCRIMINATORY REGULATIONS IN THE SADF BASED ON SEX AND COLOR AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF SEGREGATION PRACTICES WERE ELIMINATED AS OF THE END OF MARCH 1978. ALTHOUGH THE NEW ORDER IS NOW IN EFFECT, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO IT, FOR IN MANY WAYS IT IS CONTRARY TO APARTHEID PRACTICE.

3. THE NEW ORDER INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

A. ALL SOLDIERS WILL MESS TOGETHER IN GARRISON AS THEY NOW DO IN THE FIELD. THEY WILL STAND IN THE SAME LINES IN THE MESS HALLS AND MAY SIT TOGETHER IF THEY WISH. NO MENTION IS MADE AS TO WHETHER THE SAME FOOD WILL BE SERVED DUE TO VARYING DIETARY HABITS. IN THE BARRACKS, THE SOLDIERS WILL USE COMMON TOILET FACILITIES AND WILL BE INTERMINGLED IN THE BARRACKS SLEEPING AREAS.

B. STANDARD SQUARE FOOTAGE FOR FAMILY QUARTERS IN GARRISON WILL BE PROVIDED DEPENDING ONLY ON RANK. HOUSING STANDARDS FOR ALL RACES WILL BE THE SAME BUT HOUSING FOR RACIAL GROUPS WILL NOT

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BE MIXED ON THE BASES. ALTHOUGH SOME BLACK SOLDIERS BY CUSTOM HAVE MORE THAN ONE WIFE, THE REGULATION STATES THAT ONLY ONE WIFE WILL BE PROVIDED GOVERNMENT HOUSING ON A MILITARY BASE. ALL BASE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES INCLUDING SWIMMING POOLS ARE INTEGRATED.

C. STANDARDS OF RECRUITMENT FOR ALL RACES WILL BE IDENTICAL, ALTHOUGH IT IS ENVISIONED THAT THE TRAINING CYCLE WILL BE LONGER FOR BLACKS DUE TO THEIR GENERALLY LOWER EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE. PROMOTION STANDARDS AND OPPORTUNITIES WILL BE EQUAL, UTILIZING THE CURRENT WHITE STANDARDS.

D. THERE WILL BE A COMMON SENIORITY LIST FOR ALL OFFICERS WHICH WILL NOT BAR ANY OFFICER FROM ANY POSITION BASED ON RACE ALONE. (USDAO RECENTLY POINTED OUT TO SADF OFFICERS THAT SADF SERIAL NUMBERS HAD SUFFIXES THAT DENOTED RACE; TWO DAYS LATER USDAO WAS NOTIFIED THAT GENERAL MALAN HAD DIRECTED THAT ALL SUCH IDENTIFICATIONS BE REMOVED FROM SADF SERIAL NUMBERS.)

E. ALL BENEFITS TO SERVICEMEN WILL BE SAME, INCLUDING LEAVE, HOUSING LOANS, AND FUNERAL, MEDICAL, DENTAL AND OTHER WELFARE BENEFITS.

4. ONE MAJOR DISCRIMINATORY ASPECT OF MILITARY LIFE THAT THE NEW REGULATION WILL NOT CHANGE IS EQUALITY OF PAY. MILITARY PAY RATES ARE REGULATED BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION SIMILAR TO THE U.S. CIVIL SERVICE AND ARE NOT SUBJECT TO SADF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY. PARLIAMENTARY ACTION IS PROMISED, BUT HAS NOT YET BEEN FORTHCOMING, FOR REQUIRED PAY REFORM. IN THE RECENT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, OPPOSITION MEMBERS URGED ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUAL PAY IN THE MILITARY. A RECENT POLL ON TROOPS AT THE BORDER INDICATED THAT WHITE SOLDIERS WANT THEIR BLACK COUNTERPARTS TO RECEIVE THE SAME PAY. CURRENTLY, BLACKS, INDIANS AND COLOREDS RECEIVE 7/8 OF THE PAY OF THEIR WHITE COUNTERPARTS. ALLOWANCES WHICH COME UNDER SADF JURISDICTION, INCLUDING DANGER PAY AND RATION MONIES, ARE, HOWEVER, THE SAME FOR ALL RACES. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE NEW REGULATIONS, ALTHOUGH NOT HIGHLY PUBLICIZED, ARE REMARKABLE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT POLICY. THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT WILL, HOWEVER, BE LIMITED BY THE SMALL NUMBER OF BLACKS, INDIANS AND COLOREDS CURRENTLY IN THE SADF AND THE FACT THAT OF THESE ONLY PART ARE SERVING IN INTEGRATED UNITS. TABLUATED BELOW ARE THE CURRENT STRENGTH FIGURES OF PERSONNEL ACCORDING TO RACE:

	ARMY	NAVY	AIR FORCE
BLACKS	400 PLUS	0	0
COLOREDS	1500 PLUS	405	80
INDIANS	0	324	0

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TOTAL	1900	729	80
	(4 PER CENT)	(15 PERCENT)	(1 PERCENT)

5. THE 1900 COLOREDS AND BLACKS IN THE ARMY ARE MAINLY IN SEGREGATED UNITS CONTAINING PRIMARILY WHITE OFFICERS AND NCOS. THE COLOREDS SERVE IN THE TWO BATTALIONS OF THE CAPE CORPS (AN INFANTRY BATTALION, WHICH INCLUDES A NEW PARATROOP COMPANY AND A SERVICE BATTALION). THERE ARE SEVERAL COLORED OFFICERS SERVING IN THE CAPE CORPS UP TO THE RANK OF CAPTAIN. THERE ARE ISOLATED CASES OF INDIVIDUAL COLORED PERSONNEL SERVING IN WHITE UNITS. FOR EXAMPLE, A COLORED LIEUTENANT AND COLORED SERGEANT ARE SERVING IN THE WESTERN PROVINCE COMMAND IN CAPE TOWN, BOTH OF WHOM HAVE WHITE SUBORDINATES. BASIC TRAINING OF NON-WHITE RECRUITS IN THE ARMY TAKES PLACE IN SEGREGATED UNITS. TRAINING PAST THE BASIC STAGE IS IN INTEGRATED UNITS.

6. A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE SADF WAS THE FORMATION LAST YEAR OF THE BASICALLY BLACK 21ST BATTALION WHICH IS STATIONED IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA AT LENZ NEAR SOWETO. THERE ARE BLACK NCOS IN THIS BATTALION BUT NO BLACK OFFICERS, ALTHOUGH SOME ARE IN TRAINING. IN ANOTHER NOVEL AND REMARKABLE INNOVATION, THE SADF HAS ASSIGNED SOME WHITE, NATIONAL SERVICE ENLISTED MEN TO THE UNIT ON AN EXPERIMENTAL BASIS.

7. ALTHOUGH THERE IS VERY LIMITED ACTUAL INTEGRATION SO FAR IN THE ARMY, MOST OF THE 729 COLOREDS AND INDIANS IN THE NAVY SERVE IN INTEGRATED UNITS AND THE DAILY LIVES OF THESE PERSONNEL WILL BE MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE NEW REGULATIONS. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL SHIPS MANNED BY COLOREDS WITH WHITE OFFICERS, THE NAVY IS THE MOST INTEGRATED SERVICE AND HAS THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE PERSONNEL. COLOREDS AND INDIANS, WHO TOGETHER COMPRISE 15 PERCENT OF THE NAVAL PERMANENT FORCE,

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HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY IN SUPPORT FUNCTIONS BUT UNDER THE NEW REGULATIONS ALL SPECIALITIES WILL BE OPEN TO THEM. THE AIR FORCE WITH ONLY 80 INDIANS IN ITS RANKS HAS BEEN THE MOST RELUCTANT SERVICE TO RECRUIT NON-WHITES. SADF OFFICERS EXPLAIN THIS AS PRIMARILY DUE TO HIGHER LEVELS OF TECHNICAL SKILLS REQUIRED IN THE AIR FORCE AS WELL AS LIMITED QUANTITATIVE MANPOWER NEEDS.

8. IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW MUCH EMPHASIS THE SADF HAS PLACED ON RECRUITMENT OF BLACKS AND WHAT INTAKE IT PLANS OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. RECRUITMENT OF BLACKS AND INDIANS INTO THE SADF BEGAN ONLY IN 1975, BUT WITH THE FORMATION OF THE 21ST BATTALION AND THE COLORED PARATROOP COMPANY, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF NON-WHITES IN THE PERMANENT FORCE HAS ALMOST DOUBLED OVER THE PAST YEAR. NATIONAL SERVICE FOR NON-WHITES IS NOT PLANNED FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. THE STATE PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, IN A SPEECH LAST YEAR REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF NATIONAL SERVICE FOR COLOREDS AND THE RECENT DECISION TO INTRODUCE CADET TRAINING INTO COLORED AND INDIAN SCHOOLS MAY BE A PRECURSOR OF SUCH A MOVE IN THE FUTURE--POSSIBLY AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

9. THE SAG HAS POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVATIONS IN ENCOURAGING A GREATER ROLE FOR NON-WHITES IN THE SADF. THE GOVERNMENT PRESUMABLY WISHES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT ALL GROUPS HAVE A STAKE IN DEFENDING SOUTH AFRICA (77 CAPE TOWN 0269). THE GOVERNMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, MADE A POINT OF NOTING THAT BLACK AS WELL AS WHITE TROOPS TOOK PART IN THE RECENT RAID INTO ANGOLA. LOOKING TO THE LONG TERM, SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PLANNERS MAY ENVISION THE DAY WHEN GREATER NUMBERS OF NON-WHITES WILL BE REQUIRED TO FILL THE OVERALL MANPOWER NEEDS OF THE SADF. IN ADDITION, IN TERMS OF FIGHTING EXTERNALLY-SUPPORTED INSURGENCY WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, IT MAKES TACTICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE TO INCORPORATE INTO THE SECURITY FORCES SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENTS FROM THE DISAFFECTED SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION. THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY LEADERS APPARENTLY PERCEIVE THAT TO ACHIEVE THIS EFFECTIVELY, THEY MUST REMOVE DISCRIMINATION IN TERMS OF SERVICE AND OPPORTUNITY AND ELIMINATE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THE

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HUMILIATIONS OF APARTHEID WITHIN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

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10. AS A RESULT, THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY IS AHEAD OF
THE REST OF THE GOVERNMENT AND MOST OF SOCIETY IN ITS EFFORTS
TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATORY RULES AND REGULATIONS. THE MORE
IMPORTANT POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SADF POLICY ARE (1) ITS BREACHING
OF SEGREGATION PRACTICES AND, (2) ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COUNTER-
INSURGENCY STRUGGLE IN THE FUTURE. THE IMPACT OF SADF RACIAL
POLICIES ON THE REST OF SOCIETY WILL DEPEND UPON THE SIZE OF
FUTURE INTAKES OF NON-WHITES INTO THE SERVICES AND THE EXTENT
OF UNIT INTEGRATION. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, NATIONAL SERVICE IS
EVENTUALLY EXTENDED TO COLOREDS AND INDIANS, AND THESE
SERVICEMEN ARE TRAINED AND ASSIGNED ON A NON-RACIAL BASIS, THE
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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EFFECT COULD BE FAR REACHING. SUCH A DEVELOP-
MENT WOULD SERVE THE GOAL OF BRINGING INDIANS AND COLOREDS INTO
THE SADF FORCE AND COULD PROMOTE AN EROSION OF SEGREGATION
PRACTICES AGAINST THESE GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY. GERMANE

TO THIS PROGNOSIS IS THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE CAPE COLORED CORPS ADDED 780 NEW SOLDIERS IN THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 78 AND PLANS A 2300 MAN INTAKE FOR THE PRESENT YEAR EFFECTIVELY DOUBLING THE SIZE OF THAT UNIT. THE EXPANSION OF BLACK UNITS, WE SUSPECT, WILL HAVE RELATIVELY LESS SOCIAL IMPACT. THE CREATION OF ADDITIONAL BLACK UNITS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY, AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HOMELAND ARMIES, WILL, HOWEVER, ADD AN IMPORTANT NEW DIMENSION TO THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SCENE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH THE RELATIVELY ENLIGHTENED RACIAL POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ARE PRIMARILY BASED ON A PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE SECURITY NEEDS, THE ATTITUDE OF THE MILITARY LEADERS REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT AND POTENTIALLY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE LONG TERM PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS IS A MISSION REPORT. DAO WILL BE SENDING A LONGER VERSION VIA SEPARATE CHANNELS.
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